302 fashioning most of the statuettes, figurines and bowls that we
532 possess from this region, which are so remarkably decorated. Moreover, we find these same forms among the Babuba and Bashilele, up to the region of the Bankutshu of Bena Dibele-Kole. These various tribes have also reproduced in their sculpture the designs of the shaved parts of the head, which are so uniform and so characteristic. In this respect these various tribes are related, and their ethnic affinity seems very clear. Despite their present remoteness from each other and the absence of all tribal intercourse, their ethnic kinship is clearly shown in the mementos they

[142
304]

Fig. 100. Hairdos and Tattoos of Lake Leopold II.

have preserved of the ancestral culture.

302 These various observations permit us to divide the peoples
● 161 into three very distinct groups.

1) The Bateke-Banfumu group, with its chignon hairdo over the nape of the neck and the rest of the head shaved or with the hair cut short.

2) The group including the Ipanga and the eastern peoples, with their hairdo of two braids passing behind the ears and under the chin and the upright roll on top of the head. [179]

3) The group including the tribes of Lake Leopold II and the lower Lukenie up to the Ipanga region, where having the hair arranged in tiny braids predominates.

The love of finery is more or less developed among all the
301 peoples of the Kasai-Lake Leopold II-Lukenie region. Ornaments

FO32 Mongo FO32
Teke F133
Sakata FO43 M

The few groups of natives who inhabit this region have built their villages along the river on raised ground, safe from the periodic floods. 137 361

In the forest region the villages seem to be scattered purely at random.

The huts are built in the center of a large clearing, surrounded by manioc plots and banana groves which are encircled in the distance by uncleared forest.

Such is the region that we crossed from Stanley Pool to Kassai-Kwango, from the Fimi to Lake Leopold II, and over the entire basin of the Lukenie.

The first peoples we encountered there belong to the Bateke [Teke] group. Their territory lies around Stanley Pool and extends to the north as far as the Lufimi. Beyond that live the Banfumungu [Fumu], also called Banfugumu, Banfumuka, Baumbu, or simply Bamfumu. S M 101 131

North of the Kasai and along the banks of the Congo live the Bayanzi [Yanzi] or Babangi. Their neighbors to the east, the Baboma [Boma] or Babuma, occupy the whole of the confluence of the Fimi and the Kasai, up to the left bank of the lower Kwango.

T [854 291]

Fig. 3
Bateke Woman and Child.

The Wadia [Dia] live to the north of the Baboma between Nioki and Kutu and extend along the Boriempa and the western shore of Lake Leopold II up to the territory of the Mosengere [Sengele].

The region occupied by the Basakata [Sakata] stretches along the left bank of the Lukenie-Fimi between Bokoro and Moleke.

The Mosengere or Monsengere are settled along the Olonga-Uele in the region of Bongo. Northwest of this group we encountered the Bakutu [Kutu], whose territory extends beyond the boundaries of the Lake Leopold II district. [8]

The Bolia occupy the country northeast of Bongo as far as the Bolia-Kiri region.

The Tumba [Ntomba] are settled all along the eastern shore

Sakata FO43

Yaelima

of Lake Leopold II.

The Bobaie [Baye] are the northern neighbors of the Basakata in the Isoko-Tolo region.

The Balesa [Lesa] -- Batete -- occupy the left bank of the Lukenie between Bokoro and Pobombo.

The Ipanga and the Batitu or Atshitu, inhabit the Oshwe sector both north and south of the Lukenie. The region occupied by the Bokala lies farther east, between the Lodima and Bumbuli.

The Yaelima are found from east of Bumbuli to the Dekese sector and up to Dengese country.

A few Bashilele [Lele] groups are settled at the confluence of the Kasai and Sankuru. Their territory extends far to the south between the Kasai and the Loanga.

The Bankutshu [Wankutshu], also called Basongo-Meno [Songomeno], live on the left bank of the Sankuru up to the sector of Bena-Dibele and Kole. [Ed. the text from here to mid-page 14 is not translated.]

Fig. 4. Bankutshu.

[14] During our stay in the village of Chief Pokei, Baboma tribe, one of the dignitaries died. This death gave rise to an important mourning ceremony, as required by custom. The whole gunpowder supply of the deceased had been used to announce his death to the neighboring villages. Sorrow was expressed in the noisiest and most unexpected ways. The sobs of the women, the cries of despair of the relatives, and the plaintive chanting of the official female mourners mingled with the roll of the drums and the guttural and incoherent cries of the men, who kept drinking in order to express their sorrow more convincingly. All this display is an act. The screams and cries of grief are duties and are all feigned. [15] The Banfumungu cry over the death of a neighbor in the same way as they go hunting; the women mourn and cry just as they prepare food. All this is done as another job, because it is customary, because it is obligatory.

Introduction

101 This study deals with the marriage laws and customs of a large group of the Nkundó [Nkundu] people. Therefore, it would be useful at the beginning to give some general information about this people, who are very interesting from the ethnological standpoint. Then we can define the specific purpose of our investigation.

101 131 The Nkundó or Mongo occupy almost the entire length of the central basin of the Belgian Congo, from the Lulonga-Lopori [rivers] in the north all the way to Lake Leopold II, and beyond the Lukenie [River] as far as the Kasai [River]. In the west they touch the Congo River only south of the "Ruki" (1); the western part of the old Lulonga

1. Ruki is probably a corruption of Bolóki, a tribe of fishermen living downstream on the banks of this river, which the natives prefer to call Loilaka.

District is occupied by the Ngombe, whose territory extends as far as the Maringa [River] (known to the natives as Lŭwo) upstream from Basankusu (Basănkoso according to the natives). (2) In the east they may

2. According to Bittremieux and Lestaeghe, a few Nkundó remain on Nsumba Island near Nouvelle-Anvers (Congo, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 194).

be found as far as, and even beyond, the Lomami. In the southeast they have penetrated into the northwestern part of Sankuru District. At the present time it is still impossible to delineate precisely their eastern and southeastern boundaries; the Bambólé, the Bahamba, the Mĭtuku, the Bangelengele, [4] the Balengola, the Basongola, and even the Batetela and the "Bakusu," are either Móngo or very closely related. (1)

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1. See Donckerwolcke, in Kongo-Overzee, Vol. 1, p. 235, and my article in Congo, Vol. 1, p. 13. The fact that Donckerwolcke

•101 classifies the Bakela (or Boyela), who are unquestionably pure Mongo, among the Wakutshu [Wakusu] or Batetela is highly significant.

161 It is impossible to give an exact figure for the size of the population we have just defined. In any case one can estimate that it is more than a million.

184 Throughout the huge territory occupied by this people, only insignificant differences in institutions or language can be observed. Greater divergences appear in the material manifestations of culture.

101 563 In my opinion it is likely that certain groups which belong among the Nkundo-Mongo as far as culture and speech are concerned, may be distinguished from them in genealogy and history. Among these are the true Elima or riverain people (the Boloki, the Eleku, the Elinga of the upper Lomela and the upper Tshuapa), (2) the Ngombe tribes

2. We exclude a few Libinja and Basoko clans living near Coquilhatville, since they are clearly of alien origin. The native name for the Tshuapa [River] is Jwafa or Jafa and, higher up, Lwafa. Among the Bongando and the Bahamba it is called the Laha.

of the Lomela, the Mbole, the Bakutu of the Lomela-Tshuapa (with whom one should probably include the Ntomba and the Nkole), (3)

3. See my article in Congo, 1931, Vol.1, pp. 21 ff.

and perhaps also the Mpama and the Losakanyi. (4). This likelihood

4. The latter are erroneously called Losakanja by Father Schebesta in Vollblutneger und Halbzwerge, p. 199. They seem to have lived formerly on the lower Momboyo River (Luilaka); the land on which Flandria Mission has been established still bears their name.

M
101 does not exclude the possibility of a distant kinship, but the present
563 state of our knowledge makes the solution to this question impossible; for very close resemblances may be explained by a common origin as well as by a period of living in close contact, and differences may be due to diverse origins [5] or to a temporary separation at a certain point in history.

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144 A considerable number of Pygmoids or Pygmiforms (1) (Batswa, Jǒfe, Balumbe, Bilangi, Bonɛ) are to be found scattered among the Nkundɔ. They share a community of social and economic interests with their "masters." The Botswa belongs to his master and depends on him, but he is not, strictly speaking, his slave. His master not only has rights over him; he also has obligations to fulfill. Most of the Pygmoids are to be found in the western part of Nkundɔ territory; in the east they are very rare.

1. This name was proposed by Father Schebesta, op. cit., p. 170.

M
101 The Nkundɔ-Mɔngo came from the north or northeast, while
173 the Mbɔlɛ claim to have come from the northwest, and the Bakutu from the west. (2)

2. See my study, previously cited, passim.

M
101 A word should be said about the name of these people. Ordinarily, we call them the Nkundɔ-Mɔngo. The first of these names is used in the west and in the south, the second especially in the north and in the east. The Elanga of the Losanganya region are called the Mongo ɛa Lolo, or the Upstream Mɔngo, by the peoples to the west of them. Foreigners call all these peoples, including the Nkundɔ, the Mbɔlɛ, the Bakutu, etc., by the name of Mɔngo. In literature one sometimes encounters the name of Lolo or Balolo. (3) But, as we have seen, lolo is not a proper noun but simply the word meaning "upstream"

3. For example, the name of the Protestant mission of the Lulonga is "Congo Balolo Mission."

● 101 (in other dialects translated as nkoto).

The people are called Nkundó or Móngo, never Bankundó or
101 Bamóngo. The prefix ba is often heard, as it may be used in front
193 of all proper nouns, similarly to the French usage in les Molière, les Rubens, etc. [or the English usage: the Browns, the French, the Nkundó]. The singular prefix bo is also used, but only rarely. [6] I have heard it only in the expression: ale ó bonkundó mongo, "He is a real Nkundo." This statement was made only in speaking of a foreigner who had successfully assimilated the Nkundó language and culture. It is possible, however, that it has a broader meaning.

Is it possible to discover an etymology for these names?
101 Móngo is a common noun signifying something excellent, expecially a person. People say móng'ěy'ŏna, "a fine child," móng'ěy'ŏmoto, a superb woman." (The name should be compared also with the term imóngo, which denotes the state of being of a person who is well thought of, prosperous, rich, etc.) The form of the word does not change in the plural. The name Nkundó is more difficult to explain, if an explanation is at all possible. (1) If the name is to be related

1. The word is Nkundó not Nkundu or Kundu. The assertion that the initial n is not part of the word, but is simply a nasal sound which must precede a consonant in the native sound system, shows a real lack of linguistic knowledge.

to some other word, the only possibility is the verb kundola, "to unearth what has been buried." But to unearth what? The corpses of one's enemies, in order to prove one's daring by eating them? Or copper rings, which would mean their wealth? The possibility is there, but we have no direct evidence. According to Fathers Bittremieux and Lestaeghe (on p. 195 of the article mentioned), some maintain that Nkundó means nkólo, "master." But what is the basis for this explanation? (2)

2. In contrast to the Batswá, the Nkundó and other groups are Baotó (sing. Bootó), meaning non-Batswá.

101 The explanation that I judge to be the most plausible is that Nkundó means "people of the interior." As a matter of fact, the name is almost always used in contrast to Elíŋga, "riverain people," and sometimes in contrast to other groups. But the original meaning of the term was probably broadened through contact with other Negro groups and with Europeans; it may thus have become the more or less specific name of the group. Still it should be noted that if you ask a Ngombe whether his tribe is Elíŋga, "riverain-fishermen," [7] he may answer you, "Among us there are Elíŋgá and there are Nkundó." His reply would confirm our supposition. The word is thus a synonym of Nkondaka, which is found in several dialects at the equator. (1)

1. See my cited article, p. 19. I have also heard this term among the Lifumba. Nkondaka should be compared with the name Ekonda, and with bokonda, "forest on dry land," and with the verb konda, "to silt up, to be filled with alluvium, to become dry ground."

One often hears the Bombwanja contrasted with the Bokóté. In many cases Bokoté is a synonym for Nkundó, in the present-day meaning of the word. In his study of the Wángatá (Revue Congolaise, Vol. 1, 1910), Engels, who knew these peoples well since he was among other things administrator of the territory of Bokatola, already contrasted the Bombwanja and the Bokóté. It seems to me that this name is the true name of the people in question, or at least for a great portion of them. It has no other meaning in the language of the present day. Etymologically, however, it may be related to the verb kóta, "to grow old," or to another kóta, as in kóta likambo (elsewhere bótola), "to end a dispute by pronouncing a final judgment," kóta lisolo, "to have the last word in a discussion," kóta esé, "to ensure peace and order in the village," and in the verb derived from it, kótela, "to be competent, skillful."

Leaving aside the Mbólé, etc., as well as the tribes of the Lukenie [River], we can distinguish a number of different groups within the Nkundo-Móngo: the Nsongó (Mbonje), Elaŋgá, Bosaka, Bongandó, Boyéla, Ekonda, etc. Each of these contains a number of subdivisions or tribes.

101 We have excluded the majority of these groups from the scope of our study and have confined ourselves to a territory limited as follows: it is bound in the north by the Ruki-Tshuapa; in the east by the Salonga as far as the Mbólé boundary; in the south by a line running from the junction of the Luilaka and the Lwɪ̀le to the northern boundary of the Bombwanja of the Lokoló and then to the boundary of the Ekonda; in the west by the Bolóko, a tributary of the Ruki. In other words, we are considering only a very small part of the territory of the Nkundó tribes. But [8] it is the only part we have been able to investigate thoroughly. We are including the Bombwanja and the Elíngá who have settled in the area thus outlined.

The Elíngá live only along the big rivers. In our area they 101 include in addition to the true Elíngá (of whom there are only about 563 ten clans belonging to the Bolóki group, who have settled between Ikéngé and Bokéle and Mpaku, and the four or five Eleku villages on the Salonga), the Nkóle and Ekonda (1) villages who have adopted

1. Related respectively to the Nkóle of the Lokoló and the Ekonda of Lake Leopold II.

the way of life and customs of the Elíngá. (2)

2. See the data on the history and life of the Elíngá published by Father Boelaert, M.S.C., in Congo, 1935, Vol. 2, p. 705.

As to the Bombwanja, their clans may be found scattered throughout the area. They are more or less dependent on clans of other peoples with whom they live and form hamlets of a sort in a great many villages. A solid bloc of them is to be found in the vicinity of Bokátola. It is constituted as an independent district [chefferie] even though, according to "custom," it "belongs" as a julé (pl. baulé), "subject," or "subjugated clan" (the verb is uja) to certain Bokóté villages or groups. (3) It is quite possible that these

3. The same is true of the Bombwanja group of the Lokoló. Other clans are scattered

101 563

among the Elãngã beyond the Tshuapa. All of them are beyond the scope of this study. The Bombwanja are divided into Basunɛ and Bonkoso, and the Boeɛdɛ are considered their bɔnankãnã (sister's son).

Bombwanja were originally Mbɔlɛ, for certain words and idioms in their dialect are reminiscent of the Lombɔlɛ.

Let us briefly enumerate the other tribes -- "pure" Nkundɔ -- 101 who form the subject of this study:

619 1. The Injɔlɔ, "sister's son" (bonankãnã) of the Ntɔmbã and the Bolɛngɛ who live beyond the Boloko. They are divided into three groups [9] -- Engɔnjɔ, Wesɛ, and Ngombe, (1) each of which comprises

1. West of their territory are to be found the remains of a group of former inhabitants of the area, whom the present inhabitants call Tompoko (or Basɛkã Bofãka lElɛkɛ) but who are completely unknown to me.

a subdistrict [sous-chefferie] for administrative purposes. A small segment is to be found outside the area under discussion, between the Boloko and Coq. (2)

2. The southern Injɔlɔ are often called Imoma.

2. The Boãngi (and their subgroup, the Besombɔ), related to the Bokãla of the Losanganya region. (3)

[114]

3. On the ethnographic map of the Belgian Congo prepared and published by Dr. J. Maes, the territory of the Boangi is marked with the name "Bokuala." There is no tribe or village by that name. Unless an insulting and humiliating nickname (bokwala, "slave") is involved, the name may result from an erroneous use of the name of the present chief of the Boangi, Bokwãla.

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3. The Ionda, related to the Bonyanga living north of the Tshuapa.

4. The Wăngatá-Ntómbá, of whom one group is settled near Igende at the junction of the Tshuapa and the Momboyo, and another on the Jwalé. Other parts of this tribe may be found near Coquilhatville (district [chefferie] of the "Tumba"), near Bokote (Ikengo district), and at the middle section of the Luilaka, between Waka and Bonkoto (Nkundêngolo, or Wafanya and "Tumba"). (4)

> 4. At the present time it is impossible to determine the exact relationship between the Ntómbá and the Wăngatá. In general the latter are treated as a subdivision of the Ntómbá, together with the Inganda and the Ikengo. Moreover, we do not know yet whether these Ntómbá are related to other tribes bearing the same name which are frequently encountered (on the Lopori, in the vicinity of Lake Tumba, and Lake Leopold II, among the Bakutu, etc.), or whether these are no more than groups bearing the same name. It should be noted that on the map previously mentioned, the Wăngatá are placed much too far north; actually they are all to be found south of the Ruki.

5. The Bakáala, who seem to be more or less related to the Wăngatá.

6. The Bonkoso.

7. The three sister tribes of the Bongíli, the Bombomba, and the Lifumba (the Beloko are a subtribe of the latter). [10]

8. The village of Bomângola, wedged in among the Lifumda. This village contains no more than thirty taxpayers but since it belongs to the Nsongó, the oldest of all Nkundó-Móngo groups, it is considered as a separate district. (1)

> 1. Their primacy has always been recognized and respected by the Lifumba.

101 619 9. The Bongale. Three large villages belonging to this group are to be found in the territory under discussion. In order of their size they are: Bongale wă Botólɔ́ (among the Lifumba, between the Bonsómbé, Lolíma and Saási rivers), Bongale wă Ilinga (among the Bakáala, near Ikéngé), and Bongale wă Bosongó (among the Bonkoso, [563] near Bempumba). The difference between their rules of exogamy and those of the other tribes confirms the view that the Bongale are not true Nkundó. (2)

2. See Chapter V, Article III. There are several other small Bongale groups, but I do not know whether they are related to those mentioned above. Among them are those living near Bonyeka (Busira) among the Boángi (Bokáala, Boénjola). They may be descended from different ancestors who all bore the name Ngale. The same name may indicate an identical origin, but it may also be derived from different individuals whose names were the same. This statement is generally applicable.

The tribes living between the Jwalé and the Boloko, with whom the Boléngé and the Ntómbá between the Congo and the Boloko are sometimes classified, are grouped under the general name of Iláng á by the Boángí, Injólɔ́, and Eláng á. (3)

[114] 3. The Bokele tribe listed on the above-mentioned map does not exist. Could this error be due to an incorrect extension of the name of a Boloki village near Bokáma which is called Bokéle?

The Nkundó-Móngo came from the north or the northeast. (4)

[825] 4. The following note may be of interest: The stories and songs of the Nkundó indicate a

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[825]

recollection of an animal of the leopard family which they call bokonga. Their description of it corresponds to the lion. Some soldiers and other expatriates, who were also young people, shown representations of a lion immediately identified it with their bokonga.

The groups under discussion here lived for a time on the banks of the Luwo (Maringa) and the [11] upper Ikelemba, (1) then under

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1. It appears that between the Ikelemba and its tributary the Losálifa, there is still a bonkom tree called w'ãmenga (of bald heads) under which, according to tradition, the ancestors held their councils. Nearby there is a bosáá whose fruits never ripen.

pressure from other Mõngo tribes, they crossed the Tshuapa-Ruki. They evicted the Ekonda and settled in their present location. This exodus must have taken place a fairly long time ago; it is impossible to determine the date and difficult to make any estimates. In any case it must have occurred 150 to 200 years ago.

244 These peoples are primarily farmers; they grow chiefly bananas, manioc, yams, colocasia [taro], sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and various vegetables and condiments. The food crops they grow, together with what they gather and the Elaeis palm trees provide them with a continuous and abundant food supply, as long as elephants do [231] not interfere. Their domestic animals include chickens, goats, and 224 dogs. (2) Hunting is a pleasant change of activity rather than an

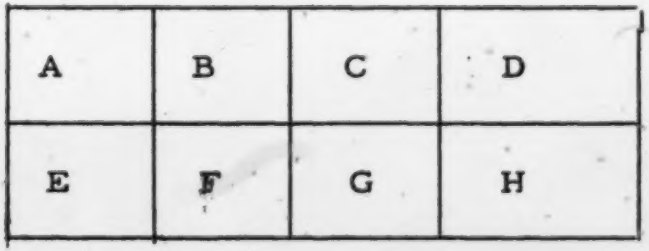
[177]

2. Ducks have been introduced fairly recently, but they were known long before colonial times. They came from the south. Sheep have been introduced only in the last few decades, and they are found only in a few villages on the river banks in the lowlands.

2: Hulstaert
101, 131, 563, 619

Mongo FO32

/The division of sections in the end map is as follows:/



2:Huistaert M-5 (ca. 1930) 1938 FO32 Mongo FO32
Nkundu

[End Map (A)]

2: Hulstaert M-5 (ca. 1930) 1938 FO32 Mongo FO32
Nkundu

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619

[End Map (B)]

2:Hulstaert M-5 (ca. 1930) 1938 FO32 Mongo FO32
Nkundu

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[End Map (c)]

2:Hulstaert M-5 (ca. 1930) 1938 FO32 Mongo FO32
Nkundu

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[End Map(D)]

2:Hulstaert M-5 (ca. 1930) 1938 FO32 Mongo FO32
Nkundu

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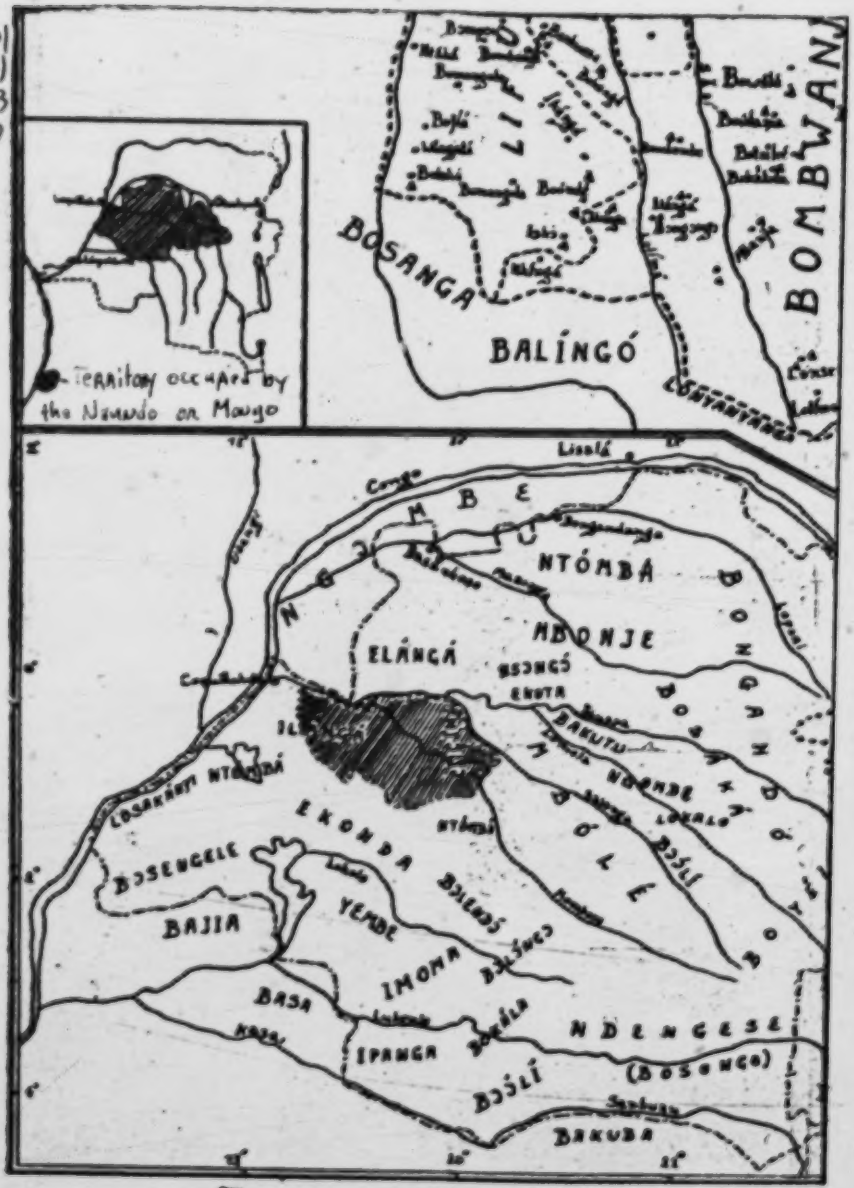

[End Map (E)]

2: Hulstaert M-5 (ca. 1930) 1938 FO32 Mongo FO32
Nkundu

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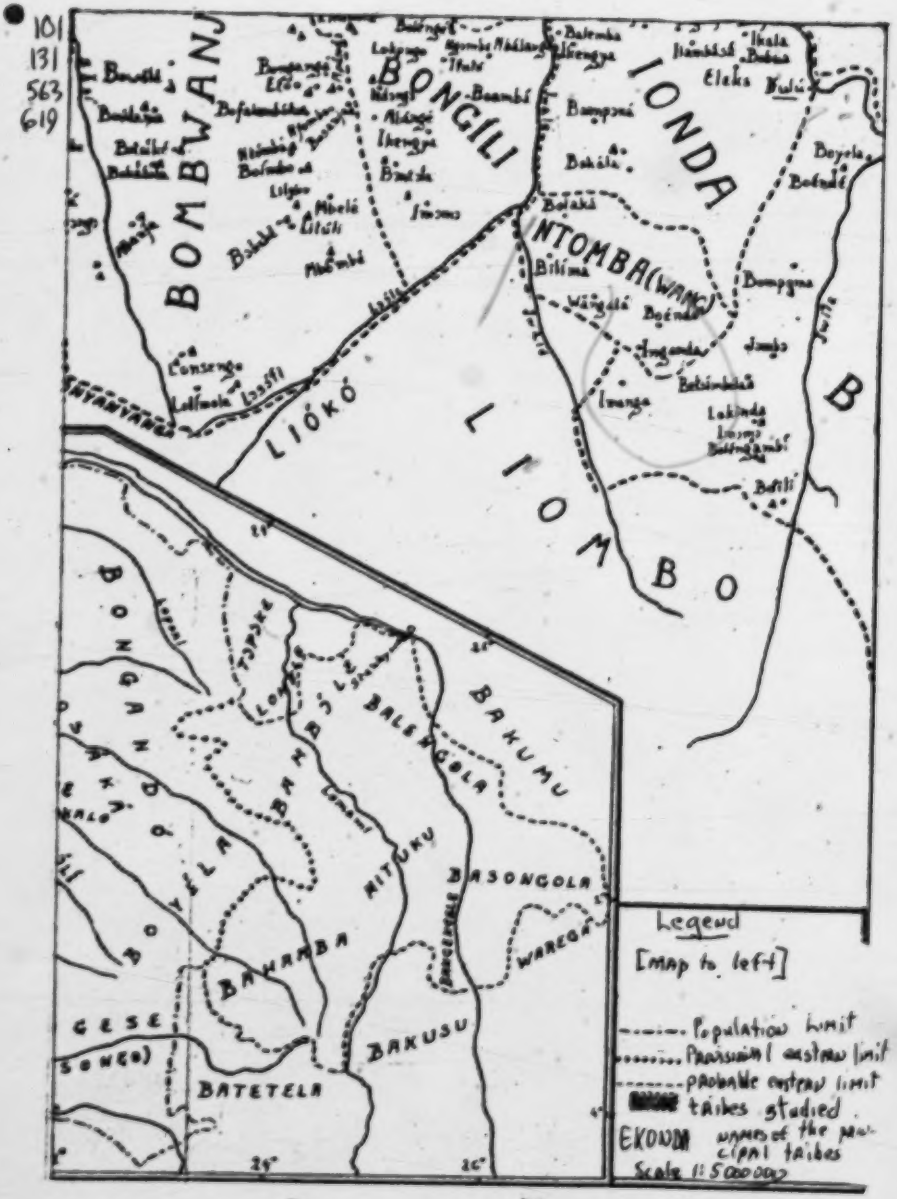

[End Map (F)]

2:Hulstaert M-5 (ca. 1930) 1938 FO32 Mongo FO32
Nkundu

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619

[End Map (G)]

2: Hulstaert M-5 (ca. 1930) 1938 FO32 Mongo FO32
Nkundu

[End Map(H)]

7:Brown M-5 (ca. 1940) 1944 FO32 Mongo FO32
Ntomba

THE *NKUMU* OF THE TUMBA

RITUAL CHIEFTAINSHIP ON THE MIDDLE CONGO

H. D. BROWN

THE tribes living round Lake Tumba, a lake some thirty-five miles long by twelve wide lying north of Lake Leopold II (approximately 0° 30′ south latitude, and 18° east longitude) and draining into the Congo River at the confluence of the Ubangi, lack cohesion and show a considerable variety of custom and language. But they are known collectively as Tumba, the Government adaptation of the Native term *Ntomba*. Most of them are found to the east of the lake, the whole group numbering perhaps little more than forty to fifty thousand at the present time, though there is evidence that the last twenty years have seen a great decrease in population. European occupation of this area goes back barely fifty years, Protestant missions having been established for about the same length of time. The first mission post was established at Ikoko on the north-east shore of the lake, one of the villages of a group known as Bonginda. In pursuing this investigation particular attention has been given to the practices of this group, but mention is occasionally made where considerable differences have been found elsewhere.

The Tumba are agricultural, hunting, and fishing people. Their country is flat and swampy with dense forests, and there are many watercourses flowing into Lake Tumba. There are occasional small, less swampy plains, and one such area, more open, with quite wide stretches of prairie, is a haunt of buffalo. The forests are fairly wel supplied with game, and the swamps, streams, and lakes with fish. A heavy rainfall and no distinct dry season make agriculture reasonably easy and famine unknown. Every family has its plantation of manioc, the staple diet, which is supplemented by plantains and bananas. The people make their own tools, formerly smelting their own iron for this purpose, are fairly skilful at making dug-out canoes, engage in weaving raffia and making mats out of split cane, and are efficient at pottery production.

The role of the *nkumu* in the socio-religious activities of the community is one of the most interesting features of Tumba life. As a result of European contact the ceremonies connected with the *nkumu* are rapidly disappearing, but it has been possible to collect considerable information from the older men and women among whom the details are still vividly remembered.[1] The following report refers to the period previous to European occupation and control, a time within the memory of a large number of people, but already sufficiently remote to become a matter of hearsay before the lapse of many more years.

An understanding of the place of the *nkumu* among the Tumba requires a glance at the tribal organization. According to the people themselves, they migrated westward, and coming into these parts chose land for themselves. Among the several

[1] In *My Children of the Forest*, New York, 1924, pp. 48–51, Andrew F. Hensey has briefly outlined some of the items of interest observed among the *nkumu* of the district adjacent to that of the present study. These more detailed notes are, however, timely if a record is to be preserved that approximates to accuracy.

6. Primitive Society.

121 and Lévi-Strauss (7) were consulted (8).

7. Structures élémentaires.

8. I am particularly indebted to Prof. Mühlmann for his advice and references to source material.

By their very nature, all attempts to recognize ethnosociological ideal types must remain incomplete and are in constant need of revision on the basis of ethnographic reality (9).

9. Mühlmann, Methodik, p. 120.

Such revision can only be carried out if each field worker, while studying his material, compares the existing terminology with "his" realities and if he then submits the result of this comparison to the scrutiny of others. Unfortunately the use of ethnosociological terms is often dictated primarily by the convictions and preferences of the individual author who may neither refer to the existing terminology nor otherwise inform the reader of what he means exactly by the various terms. Many authors in this respect follow such unreliable standards as their "feeling for the language" or they act under the delusion that their private terminology corresponds to what is generally accepted. Too often, however, the actual usage differs considerably from what has been suggested in terminological studies. As a result terms like "clan," "kinship group [Sippe]," and "large family [Gross familie]" create different impressions among different readers.

In the present study the terminology of the authors mentioned above will be discussed in relation to the kinship and [101] local groups of the Ekonda. We are concerned here with the northwestern subdivision of the Ekonda who live in the Bikoro territory. The Ekonda belong to the large group, the Mónga.

61 another group. According to their relationship to others, groups
602 may be designated as:

brother, younger or older;

brother or half brother (descended from various wives of the polygynous ancestor);

[848] Illegitimate child of the sister which, legally, as the child of the oldest brother or of the father of his mother, belongs to the group of the mother's relatives;

child of a boy who together with his sister has moved to the unit of his brothers-in-law and has settled there permanently;

son of a sister, who for some reason has separated from his paternal relatives and has moved in with the group of his mother or of one of his grandmothers.

601 Present-day social relationships are influenced by this variety of kinship relations. The kinship terms which refer to the relationships of the genuine or assumed ancestors to each other are occasionally transferred to the groups.

614 In this paper we shall describe the Isangi group (12) as an
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12. Müller, Fürstentum [Kingdom], pp. 68 ff., 125, 128 ff.

●[101] example of hierarchical kinship structure. Isangi is a local group of the type described above (p. 1). Following the custom of the region, I shall refer to it as a "village." Until we have decided which terms are applicable to the various groups, I shall use the letters A to E for the individual ranks of the hierarchical structure. Within this system A shall stand for the smallest and E for the largest units (see Diagram 2).[1]

In addition to the three ranks of Group D in Isangi, there are others in the daughter villages (see Diagram 1). These may also include foreign groups, as, for example, the "Nkundó" group, Liimbu, in Wengá.

[1] [See page 6, category 116.—Analyst]

101 114 [218] The Nkundo [Nkundu], or Mongo, are an important ethnic group of the central basin of the Belgian Congo. They are patriarchal (1). I lived among their west-central tribes for

1. The rules and many details of the classificatory system of the Nkundo have already been set forth in Le Mariage des Nkundo by Father G. Hulstaert (Belgian Royal Colonial Institute, 1938).

20 years.

614 We call a clan, in the ethnic sense, the group of paternal blood relatives who have an autonomous territory in common. This resembles closely what Anglo-Saxon researchers like to call a "lineage" (2).

2. The quotations in this article are from The Pattern of Hera Kinship, by J. F. Holleman (Capetown University Press, for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1949).

I. Wise

601 614 A Nkundo calls his own clan his wise, from the word ise which means "father." My wise thus includes:

1. My paternal grandfather and his brothers and sisters who are called nkoko (pl., bankoko), "grandfather, grandmother."

2. The sons of my male bankoko, including my own father, all of whom are my "fathers" (ise; pl., baise).

The sisters of my "fathers" are my "female fathers" (isomoto, composed of isé and bomoto, "woman").

3. The sons of my "fathers" are my older brothers (botomolo; pl., batomolo) and younger brothers (bokune; pl., bakune). The daughters of my "fathers" are my sisters (nkâna; pl., bankâna).